

## Message Text

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R 201639Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0446  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMCONSUL BELFAST

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 01309

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, PINS, EI, UK  
SUBJECT: MORE ON ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS AND NORTHERN  
IRELAND

REF: DUBLIN 1255

1. SUMMARY: IRELAND'S SENIOR OFFICIAL DEALING WITH  
NORTHERN IRELAND, SEAN DONLON, WAS PESSIMISTIC AS HE  
GAVE US HIS VERSION OF RECENT EVENTS. THE LYNCH-  
CALLAGHAN MEETING WAS A FRIENDLY AFFAIR, AND BOTH SIDES  
AGREED TO STOP SLINGING MUD. HOWEVER, NORTHERN IRELAND  
SECRETARY MASON IS BECOMING SOMETHING OF A PROBLEM, AND  
HIS DIFFERENCES WITH PM CALLAGHAN ARE INCREASINGLY  
EVIDENT. DONLON SEES NOT MUCH CHANCE FOR AMELIORATION  
AFTER THE UPCOMING ELECTION, NO MATTER THE OUTCOME, AND  
ONLY SEES A LONG, SLOW PROCESS OF CHANGE AS IN ANY WAY  
HOPEFUL. THE LYNCH POLICY IS ONE OF RESTRAINT, DAMPING  
DOWN "GREEN" TENDENCIES IN HIS PARTY, AND FROM A POSITION  
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OF ALMOST UNASSAILABLE POLITICAL STRENGTH HE CAN AFFORD  
TO BE TOLERANT -- UP TO A POINT -- OF RATHER OBVIOUS  
HMG POLITICAL REALITIES. END SUMMARY.

2. IRISH MFA ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ANGLO-IRISH AFFAIRS  
SEAN DONLON WAS IN A GLOOMY MOOD AS HE GAVE US HIS  
ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. HE HAD JUST RETURNED

FROM ONE OF HIS ROUTINE TRIPS TO NORTHERN IRELAND. NOTHING IS MOVING IN THE NORTH, HE SAID, EXCEPT THE TERRORISTS AND THE BRITISH SECURITY FORCES. DONLON SAID THAT THE GOI FORMALLY REQUESTED THE RECENT COPENHAGEN BILATERAL HEAD-OF-STATE MEETING BY LETTER FROM LYNCH TO CALLAGHAN, AND WERE GRATIFIED THAT CALLAGHAN REPLIED WITH ACCEPTANCE THE SAME DAY. THE GOI CONSIDERED THE MEETING NECESSARY IN ORDER TO CLARIFY POSITIONS AND, HOPEFULLY, RESTATE AMICABLE RELATIONS. RELATIONS HAD "DETERIORATED" CONSIDERABLY, AND IT SEEMED TO THE IRISH THAT THERE WAS A WIDE VARIANCE BETWEEN MASON'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND THE PRIVATE ROUTINE TALKS THEY WERE HAVING WITH LOWER-LEVEL OFFICIALS. IN PREPARATION FOR THE MEETING BRIAN CUBBON, SENIOR CIVIL SERVANT IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE, CAME TO DUBLIN AND HAD FIVE HOURS OF TALKS WITH DONLON AND OTHER IRISH OFFICIALS. THE MAIN IRISH QUESTION IN THESE TALKS WAS: IS THERE ANYTHING, ANYTHING AT ALL, WHICH WE CAN DO TO HELP THE SECURITY SITUATION? CUBBON REPLIED THAT HMG WAS QUITE SATISFIED WITH SECURITY COOPERATION IN ALL ASPECTS. EXTRADITION, CUBBON SAID, WAS A MINOR SORE POINT, BUT WAS MORE POLITICAL IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND TURF THAN A REAL SECURITY ISSUE (SEE BELOW).

3. THE ACTUAL MEETING IN COPENHAGEN, ACCORDING TO DONLON, WAS A BIT MORE INVOLVED THAN EITHER SIDE WISHED. THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESS CORPS HAD LEAN PICKINGS AT THE SUMMIT MEETING, AND A GOOD COTERIE OF THE LOCAL DANISH PRESS HAD JUST RETURNED FROM AN (MFA) SPONSORED TRIP TO DUBLIN IN CONNECTION WITH THE DANISH QUEEN'S VISIT. THUS, THE ANGLO-IRISH BILATERAL HAD CONSIDERABLE LOCAL COVERAGE IN ADDITION TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH JOURNALISTS. THE BRITISH INSISTED ON A MEETING AT MARIENBAD, AWAY FROM THE JOURNALISTS, AND THE IRISH HAD NO OBJECTION. THE MEETING WAS DELIBERATELY UNSTRUCTURED -- LYNCH AND CALLAGHAN ARE OLD FRIENDS -- AND LASTED EXACTLY 55 MINUTES.

4. ACCORDING TO DONLON THE MEETING WAS FRIENDLY AND CHUMMY -- JACK AND JIM -- AND SKIRTED DISCUSSIONS OF SECURITY AFTER AGREEING THAT THIS WAS NO PROBLEM. LYNCH TRIED TO CONVINCE CALLAGHAN THAT SO MANY THINGS HAD BEEN TRIED OVER THE YEARS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. NOTHING WORKED. WHY NOT ACCEPT OR AT LEAST VAGUELY INDICATE THAT ALL PEOPLES IN IRELAND MUST EVENTUALLY COME TOGETHER TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE? CALLAGHAN REPLIED THAT HE COULD ONLY ACCEPT ANY ARRANGEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND AGREED TO BY A MAJORITY THERE, AND WOULD NOT OR COULD NOT FEASIBLY FORCE ANY SOLUTION. DONLON SAID THERE WAS NOT

EVEN AN AGREEMENT TO DISAGREE ON THIS POINT, BUT MERELY A MUTUAL STATEMENT OF LONG-TERM GOALS (LYNCH) AND DIS-AGREEMENT WITH THOSE GOALS (CALLAGHAN). ,29, #945-TERM POLITICAL MOVEMENT LYNCH TOLD CALLAGHAN THAT HE COULD FULLY SUPPORT ANY DEVOLVED TYPE OF GOVERNMENT WHICH INCLUDED POWER-SHARING OR COOPERATIVE GOVERNMENT OR WHATEVER THE BRITISH WANTED TO CALL IT. CALLAGHAN SPOKE VAGUELY OF PROPOSALS "STILL ON THE TABLE" IN REGARD TO DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT, BUT DID NOT SEEM TO BE VERY SANGUINE ABOUT ANY MOVEMENT SOON. THE TWO THEN AGREED THAT A

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R 201639Z APR 78  
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MEETING BETWEEN MASON AND O'KENNEDY WOULD BE USEFUL AND SHOULD BE ARRANGED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. TOWARD THE END OF THE MEETING JACK LYNCH PULLED OUT OF HIS POCKET A DRAFT JOINT STATEMENT -- DONLON ESCHEWED AUTHORSHIP AND ADMITTED HIS OWN SURPRISE. (COMMENT: PROBABLY THE PRODUCT OF PRESS SPOKESMAN FRANK DUNLOP.) CALLAGHAN SCANNED IT BRIEFLY AND, WITH GOOD HUMOR, SAID NOT A CHANCE. THEY AGREED THAT THEIR OFFICIALS WOULD COME UP WITH A SPARSE, NON-CONTENTIOUS BRIEF FOR THE PRESS.

5. DONLON SAID THAT ONE APPARENT OBJECTIVE OF THE BILATERAL, FROM THE BRITISH SIDE, WAS TO AVOID "KICKING ROY MASON IN THE PANTS". EVERY CLUED-IN OFFICIAL IN BOTH NIO AND FCO ARE ABUNDANTLY AWARE OF THE TENSION BETWEEN CALLAGHAN AND MASON, DONLON SAID, AND HE WENT INTO CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ON IRISH SOURCES CLOSE TO CALLAGHAN -- THE CIA COULD NOT DO SO WELL. AFTER A FAIR

START, MASON HAS NOT PROVED TO BE A GOOD PROCONSUL. HE HAS ALIENATED MOST FACTIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND CALLAGHAN DOES NOT APPROVE OF MASON'S RECENT ATTEMPTS TO HAPHAZARDLY IDENTIFY SCAPEGOATS, PARTICULARLY THE GOI. CONFIDENTIAL

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CALLAGHAN, ACCORDING TO DONLON, WANTS TO COOL THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND AS MUCH AS HE CAN, BUT WOULD NOT WANT TO EXACERBATE ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS AS A PRICE FOR COOLING IT. THERE ARE MANY IMPORTANT DIMENSIONS OF ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS, E.G., EC AFFAIRS, WHICH HAVE LITTLE OR NO CONNECTIONS WITH THE NORTHERN IRELAND CRISIS. MASON, HOWEVER, IS ASSUMING MORE AND MORE THE ATTITUDE OF AN EXASPERATED LITTLE BULL CHARGING AROUND AND BREAKING THINGS, AND CALLAGHAN DOES NOT LIKE IT. DONLON SAID THAT HE CAME AWAY FROM THE COPENHAGEN MEETING MORE CONVINCED THAN EVER OF THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN MASON AND CALLAGHAN, ALTHOUGH, OF COURSE, CALLAGHAN OBVIOUSLY WILL NOT REPUDIATE MASON DIRECTLY. THE DISAGREEMENT IS OF NO PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE GOI, DONLON ASSERTED, SINCE HMG HAS A GENERAL DO-NOTHING POLICY ANYWAY, BUT CALLAGHAN IS NOT BEING WELL-SERVED BY MASON.

6. THE MEETINGS OF OFFICIALS AFTER THE LYNCH-CALLAGHAN MEETING TO CLARIFY AND PREPARE AN AGREED BRIEF WAS QUICKLY AND EASILY DONE. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO AVOID PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE OTHER, ACCORDING TO DONLON. THE MASON-O'KENNEDY MEETING WAS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR EARLY MAY. DONLON WAS THEN QUITE SURPRISED TO HEAR MASON'S APRIL 13 REMARKS IN COMMONS. FOR ITS PART, THE GOI HAS DECIDED, AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT, TO KEEP ITS SIDE OF THE BARGAIN AND NOT REPLY IN KIND. MASON HAS, IN FACT, "INDIRECTLY" INFORMED THE GOI THAT HE WILL BE UNAVAILABLE FOR A MEETING UNTIL LATE MAY. THE DELAY, DONLON BELIEVES, IS A "FACE-SAVING" DEVICE.

7. WE BROUGHT UP THE PROBLEM OF EXTRADITION, WHICH KEEPS COMING UP IN THE UK PARLIAMENT AND ELSEWHERE. DONLON FUMED ABOUT THE "RANK HYPOCRISY" OF SOME OTHER COUNTRIES. CONFIDENTIAL

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ALL WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES EXCEPT IRELAND HAVE SIGNED THE CONVENTION ON TERRORISM, BUT TO DATE NOT ONE STATE HAS RATIFIED IT -- MOST OF THEM HAVING LEGAL PROBLEMS WITH EXTRADITION. IRELAND IS BEING CRITICIZED FOR BEING HONEST. DONLON HAS ASKED OVER AND OVER WHY HMG WILL NOT

AGREE TO TRY OFFENSES COMMITTED IN NORTHERN IRELAND UNDER IRISH JURISDICTION (ONLY ONE CASE HAS BEEN BROUGHT FORWARD IN THE TWO YEARS SINCE THE LEGISLATION WAS PASSED BY BOTH COUNTRIES). THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL LEGAL SYSTEMS, HUNDREDS OF LAWYERS ARE ACCREDITED TO THE BARS OF BOTH COUNTRIES. SUCH EXTRA-TERRITORIAL PROCESSES WOULD BE SIMPLE TO CONDUCT. DONLON HAS COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE LABOR PARTY IS MORE INTERESTED IN RETAINING THE POLITICALLY USEFUL CRY OF THE LACK OF EXTRADITION THAN IN ACTUALLY GETTING THE HANDFULL OF NORTHERN TERRORISTS WHO MIGHT BE LOOSE IN THE SOUTH. THERE ARE, IN FACT, NO KNOWN SUCH CASES AT THE MOMENT. THE IRISH PORTLAOISE PRISON IS FULL OF TERRORISTS LOCKED UP MERELY BECAUSE AN IRISH SENIOR POLICE OFFICIAL BELIEVES THEY ARE MEMBERS OF A PROSCRIBED ORGANIZATION. IN THE END IT ALL COMES DOWN TO UNIONIST VOTES IN PARLIAMENT, DONLON SAID, AND MUCH OF THE FLACK OF THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS RELATES TO THIS POLITICAL REALITY. THE IRISH ARE WILLING TO BE TOLERANT OF THIS REALITY, UP TO A POINT.

8. WE ASKED IF JACK LYNCH'S CHANGE IN POLICY HAS ENCOURAGED THE IRA AND MADE LIFE MORE DIFFICULT FOR MASON. DONLON REPLIED THAT THIS WAS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF BOWING TO UNIONIST PARANOIA OR AT LEAST ENGAGING IN A LITTLE DOUBLE-SPEAK. LYNCH HAS NOT CHANGED HIS POLICY, OR FIANNA FAILJXS POLICY. DONLON TROTTED OUT THE WELL KNOWN

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R 201639Z APR 78  
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1972 ARTICLE BY LYNCH IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHICH IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME POLICY BEING USED TODAY, ALTHOUGH MORE CIRCUMSPECT LANGUAGE IS BEING USED THESE DAYS ON THE IRISH DIMENSION. CALLAGHAN'S ADVISORS HAVE BEEN ACTUALLY RELIEVED THAT LYNCH HAS SO FAR DAMPED DOWN THE "GREEN" TENDENCIES OF FIANNA FAIL, WHICH BY TRADITION HAS BEEN THE MOST "REPUBLICAN" OF THE IRISH PARTIES. PARADOXICALLY, ALSO, FIANNA FAIL IS THE PARTY MOST IMPLACABLY, BITTERLY, OPPOSED TO IRA TERRORISTS, AND THERE WAS "NO JOY IN KEVIN STREET" (PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN HEADQUARTERS) WHEN LYNCH RETURNED TO POWER. THERE HAS BEEN NO LETUP IN SECURITY, AS THE N.I.O. WELL KNOWS, QUITE THE CONTRARY. THE GOI UNDER FIANNA FAIL IS ALLOCATING EVEN MORE OF ITS SCARCE RESOURCES TO SECURITY THAN THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. THE IRISH KEEP ASKING, AND LATELY COME CLOSE TO DEMANDING, OF THE BRITISH: WHAT ARE WE DOING WRONG IN THE SECURITY AREA? WHAT MORE CAN WE DO? THE ANSWER IS ALWAYS: WE ARE TOTALLY SATISFIED, KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK.

9. ON THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE NORTH, DONLON WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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BLEAKLY PESSIMISTIC. AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF FOLLOWING THE CRISIS, HE CAN SEE NO ALLEVIATION IN SIGHT. THINGS ARE NOT GETTING BETTER. THOSE WHO THINK THE BRITISH ELECTION WILL SOLVE ANYTHING ARE FOOLING THEMSELVES. IF LABOR WINS, IT WILL PROBABLY BE A NARROW VICTORY AND MORE OF THE SAME EXCEPT, HOPEFULLY, WITHOUT MASON. ON THE OTHER SIDE, MRS. THATCHER AND AIREY NEAVE DO NOT EXACTLY INSPIRE CONFIDENCE, EXCEPT AMONG UNIONISTS. DONLON BELIEVES THERE IS NO "SOLUTION" AS SUCH, BUT SLOW PLUGGING AWAY. THE BIGGEST SINGLE PROBLEM IS THE LACK OF REAL LEADERSHIP, IMAGINATION, OR EVEN COMMON SENSE IN THE UNIONIST LEADERSHIP. DONLON DESCRIBED HOW SOME OF THE MORE PROMISING YOUNGER UNIONIST LEADERS HAVE DRIFTED AWAY FROM POLITICS, A SAD LOSS. HE RATES SMYTHE AS THE BEST OF THE LOT, BUT HE CAN ONLY GIVE PART TIME AT BEST AS HIS ORANGE LODGE DUTIES TAKE UP MUCH OF HIS TIME. MEANWHILE, TAYLOR GOES FROM "ABSURDITY TO ABSURDITY".

10. DONLON SAID THAT THE ONLY LONG-TERM SOLUTION IS FOR THE REPUBLIC TO EVOLVE INTO AN ENTITY WHICH WOULD NO LONGER BE SEEN AS A THREAT BY THE UNIONISTS. CONTRA-CEPTION AND NULLITY/DIVORCE ARE ONLY A FIRST STEP. THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT IS ECONOMIC, AND FORTUNATELY THE REPUBLIC'S GROWTH RATE CONTINUES TO BE MOST IMPRESSIVE. THE GOI IS QUITE SERIOUS ABOUT NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC COOPERATION, WHICH HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT UNDERRATED. FOR INSTANCE, TRADE AND INDUSTRY MINISTER DES O'MALLEY HAS

RECENTLY QUIETLY CONVENED A MEETING OF A NUMBER OF INDUSTRIALISTS FROM THE NORTH WHO COULD POSSIBLY PARTICIPATE IN THE BURGEONING BUSINESS OF SUPPLYING THE OFFSHORE OIL RIGS AROUND IRELAND. O'MALLEY PROMISED THAT ANY BUSINESS WHICH COULD NOT BE PICKED UP BY FIRMS IN THE REPUBLIC WOULD GO TO NORTHERN IRELAND, AND SEVERAL  
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CONTRACTS HAVE ALREADY MATERIALIZED. DONLON WRYLY REMARKED THAT THIS ARRANGEMENT ONLY BREAKS SIX EC REGULATIONS HE IS AWARE OF, BUT HOPES THE COMMISSION WILL BE TOLERANT. THE MAIN CATALYST, IN THE END, TO BREAK THE STALEMATE AND TERRORIST CYCLE IN THE NORTH, HE BELIEVES WILL BE INCREASING ECONOMIC COOPERATION, SLOW BREAKING OF BARRIERS, AND THE SLOW EROSION OF ANACHRONISTIC IDEAS. SHANNON

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## Message Attributes

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